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## I.—ANCIENT SINOPE.

### SECOND PART.

#### CHAPTER VI.

#### SINOPE UNDER PERSIAN RULE.

Sparta never had a Black Sea fleet or any great ambitions there. It was easy for her, when the Athenian sea power was broken, to leave Sinope to its fate, and the latter's independence wanes with the waning of Athens. The attack by Datames<sup>1</sup> in 370 B. C. shows us Sinope as no longer a Greek city fighting against non-Greeks, but rather as an object of strife between some Persians in possession of it and other Persians seeking to gain possession. If a Persian satrap ruled a long distance from the Great King his loyalty to him was likely to be somewhat loose in those days. Datames was anxious to carve out a little empire for himself in Asia Minor and went beyond his own satrapy of Cappadocia into Paphlagonia. After subduing large portions of it, his ingenuity conceived against Sinope itself a wily scheme which Polyænus has entered for us in his compilation of strategic operations.<sup>2</sup> Being in need of siege-engines and ships, he tricked the old enmity of the Sinopeans against Sestus into furnishing him with engineers and mechanics to construct them as if for operations against that distant town, but treacherously used them, when completed, for a combined land and sea attack upon Sinope itself. Artaxerxes Mnemon, getting information of the siege,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Polyænus VII, 21, 2, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

ordered Datames off, and he abandoned the siege and withdrew his ships by night.<sup>1</sup> But we get a glimpse of the perilous position of the city in the statement that the Sinopeans dressed their women as men and led them about the walls in order to create a false idea of numerical strength.<sup>2</sup> From all this we gather the impression of a strong Greek element in the population, but of a Persian political preponderance; for Artaxerxes II would scarcely have ordered Datames to raise the siege of an unsubdued autonomous Greek city.

It is probable, however, that Datames renewed the attack and subsequently entered the city. Certainly he succeeded in subduing large regions of Paphlagonia, including Amisus,<sup>3</sup> and at some favorable season may afterwards have secured Sinope itself, which he desired for his capital. The evidence is numismatic. The coins with the nymph Sinope on one side and DATA with the eagle and the dolphin on the other must be assigned to Datames,<sup>4</sup> and Six's<sup>5</sup> argument that these pieces of money do not necessarily show that Datames was at any time in power at Sinope, but that they were made for him at the time when his relations with Sinope were friendly enough to secure mechanics and engineers can hardly have much force; for such a personal coinage implies possession of personal authority and ambition, and any appearance of these qualities would have been very carefully avoided by the wily Persian just at that time. The simpler and, as I think, the truer view of these coins and those of Orontobates, Vararanes, Ariarathes, Abdsasan and others<sup>6</sup> is

<sup>1</sup> Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* II, p. 185 is in error when, referring to this attack, he says "Sinope fiel nach tapferem Widerstande in Datames' Hand"; cf. also p. 186, n. I "Über die Einnahme durch Datames cf. Polyæn. VII, 21, 2, 5; Aeneas 40, 4". Others as Meyer op. cit. V, 964 appear to make the same mistake, but it is definitely stated in Polyænus that Datames gave up the siege, and the language of Aeneas implies that Sinope was not captured. Cf. Judeich, *Kleinasiatische Studien*, p. 193 f.

<sup>2</sup> Aeneas 40, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Polyæn. VII 21, 1; Ps. Arist. *Oecon.* II 1350 b; cf. also Meyer op. cit., V, 964 and Nepos, *Dat.* 2-3.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, p. 6, pl. I, 5; Six, *Num. Chron.* 1885, p. 26, pl. II, 7; 1895, p. 169; Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 434; *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Greek Coins, Pontus*.

<sup>5</sup> *Num. Chron.* 1885, p. 25.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Six, *Num. Chron.* 1885, p. 26 f.; 1895, p. 169; Babelon, *Perses Achéménides*, p. LXXX f.; Head, *Num. Chron.* 1892, 253; Macdonald, *Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection*, II 236; cf. also Head, *Hist. Num. and Brit. Mus. Cat. of Greek Coins*.

that they indicate Persian officials actually in power at Sinope.<sup>1</sup> Datames died in 362. We must then assign his acquisition of power in Sinope, if he did acquire it, to some time between this date and his interrupted siege in 370.

Sinope's isolated position keeps its internal condition from being wholly clear to us except at such times as some great power, being at its zenith, becomes so important as to draw the whole ancient world into its light. One of these epochs was in the time of Pericles; that of Alexander was another. Appian<sup>2</sup> tells us that Alexander on his great eastward march incidentally restored to Amisus by edict its freedom and autonomy, and Droysen<sup>3</sup> surmises that the other Greek cities on the Pontus asked him for a similar service, but that their remoteness made him unwilling to deviate so far from the line of his larger movement, or to suffer the delay necessary to detaching troops for the purpose. This would indicate that the Greeks of Sinope were ready at any time for an uprising against Persian authority. But this is not quite in accordance with the clear inference, to be drawn from the definite details of Alexander's meeting with the embassy from Sinope. Among the Mardi, at the immense distance of 1500 miles from their own city, these Sinopean Greeks had come to the Persian court. They came to meet Darius and met Alexander. The great Macedonian did not put them under guard as he did the Lacedaemonian envoys to Darius. He told them that, being subjects of Persia, they had done right in sending ambassadors to its court. He released them on the further and express ground that they had not joined in the Greek league against himself.<sup>4</sup> This incident reveals at least five facts. First, it shows the importance of the Greek element in Sinope, for these ambassadors were not Persians, but Greeks. Secondly, it shows that the Sinopean Greeks were loyal enough to Darius to send an embassy to him. Third, it shows that their acceptance of Persian authority was not sullen but rather willing, loyal, and cöoperative. Fourth, the contrast of Alexander's treatment of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Reinach, *Trois Royaumes de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 10, whose language seems to imply a similar view. Cf. also Reinach-Götz, *op. cit.*, p. 21. Abdsasan is right. Head, *Six*, *Num. Chron.* 1885, and others give Abdemon. But in *Num. Chron.* 1893, p. 7, *Six* gives also Abdsasan.

<sup>2</sup> Appian, *Mithr.* 8, 83.

<sup>3</sup> *Hellenismus* I 1, 247. He cites the case of Heraclea; cf. Memnon (*Phot.* 223, 40, c. 4).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Arrian, *Anabasis*, III 24, 4; Curtius, *Hist. Alex.* VI 5, 6.

them with his treatment of the Lacedaemonians shows that they had had no active part in the alliance of the other Greeks against him. And fifth, it shows that they were so isolated from the affairs of the Aegean Greeks as to be practically neutral, so that Alexander could afford to consider them, although envoys to Persia, as friends of his own cause.

The vicissitudes of Sinope under the divided rule of the Diadochi cannot be known.<sup>1</sup> Not unlikely anarchy alternated with order; for at the close of this period we find the tyrant Scydrothemis in power. The name has a barbarian, perhaps a Paphlagonian, sound and Tacitus gives him the title of king, which is in fact more accurately descriptive than tyrant. Yet on the occasion of the mission of Ptolemy to obtain the statue of Serapis he calls an assembly of the people, who feel free to oppose his plans, and there is no suggestion of any use of troops or other force to put them down. We may infer from all this a vague general theoretic subjection to the Diadochi, but a practical autonomy with considerable democratic liberty and appeal to public assemblies.<sup>2</sup>

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## CHAPTER VII.

### SINOPE AND THE PONTIC KINGS.

The practical autonomy of Sinope was one of the results of that division among the successors of Alexander which made their Empire fall back from its previous limits. Ground was thus cleared for the rise of the Pontic kingdom. And we must now see in the third century a descent of these barbarians upon the Sinopean civilization. The movement, though it is on a smaller scale, suggests the barbarian inroads of the Middle Ages. There is the same final outward defeat and the same victorious inward and permanent invasion of the minds and thoughts of the conquerors by the civilizing and organizing genius of the conquered. The tradition that when Mithradates, the subsequent founder of the Pontic kingdom, was serving with Antigonus, the ruler of the Syrian kingdom, the latter dreamed that he sowed gold in a field and that Mithradates ran away with the harvest, sufficiently

<sup>1</sup> Diod. XVIII 3 tells us that Paphlagonia was given to Eumenes, but nothing is said with regard to Sinope itself.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Tac. Hist. IV 83, 84.

suggests the young man's rapid and ambitious appropriation of knowledge and power which brought him under suspicion and led to his flight into Cappadocia, where he made a realm for himself and ruled over it and even as far as the eastward coast of the Euxine.<sup>1</sup> Westward, however, the mountain rampart behind Sinope again secured its immunity from direct attack until the unsuccessful attempt of Mithradates II in 220 B. C.<sup>2</sup>

The intervening epoch shows the Hellenic civilization of Sinope in close relations with the rest of Greece. Significant in this connection are the coins which the Sinopeans struck of the Attic standard of weight and fineness and bearing a head of Athena closely conformed to the Attic type.<sup>3</sup> Such uniformity in money clearly indicates intimate commercial intercourse. The silver coins of the Seleucid kings of Syria<sup>4</sup> also circulated at Sinope between about the middle of the third century and 190. These two silver coinages in successive circulation at Sinope testify to her continuous freedom from the domination of the Pontic kings, whose fiat bronze money of the same type as that in other Pontic villages<sup>5</sup> was immediately forced upon Sinope as the sole medium of exchange when Pharnaces finally took the town in 183 B. C. To the numismatic evidence I am glad to be able to add that among the inscriptions which Dr. Wilhelm has copied and studied there is one of this period from Histiaea in Euboea. The inscription is long and much mutilated, but clearly states that the Histiaeans extended to ambassadors from Sinope the privileges of proxeny and granted ἀσφάλεια, ἀσυλία, ἰσοτέλεια and other honors to Sinopeans who came to Histiaea.<sup>6</sup> There are at Athens, moreover, numerous inscriptions which mention the names of Sinopeans,<sup>7</sup> some of them doubtless of this period. These are an excellent though very general indication of transit between Sinope and Attica. And, finally, the prompt, generous, and effective assistance which Rhodes gave to Sinope when attacked by Mithradates II throws a strong light backward and

<sup>1</sup> Appian, Mithr. 9; Plut. Demetrius 4; On Mithradates Ktistes cf. also Diod. XIX 40; XX 111.

<sup>2</sup> Am. J. Arch. IX (1905), p. 297.

<sup>3</sup> Six, Num. Chron. 1885, p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 48-49.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 49.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Am. J. Arch. IX (1905), p. 333. For the first two lines of the inscription not given there cf. Wilhelm, Proxenenliste aus Histiaia, in the Arch. Epigr. Mitt. aus Oester. 1892, p. 114.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. I. G. (C. I. A.) II 3, 3339-3358.

discloses the previous friendly and trading relations between the two peoples.

That attack itself, though unsuccessful, was the beginning of the end of Sinope's independence,<sup>1</sup> for it marks the practical recognition by the Pontic kings of the strategic importance of the town and of its natural destiny as the capital of the Pontic empire. At the same time it revealed the resourceful energy of the Sinopeans. They promptly built palisades at every point in the entire circuit of the promontory at which, in case of a sea attack, a possible landing could be made. Their colonies rendered efficient help. They also dispatched, as has been indicated above, an embassy to Rhodes appealing for help. The Rhodians responded at once by making three of their number a committee to purchase the needed arms, bow-strings, and engines of war, which the Sinopeans took home along with an amount of money. They also gave them wine, to the extent of 10,000 amphoras.<sup>2</sup> We get evidence of the military strength of Sinope from the fact that, with this help, the great power of the Pontic kingdom could not capture it.

When indeed it did finally fall, it was by a sudden and unexpected attack, perhaps in time of peace and through treachery<sup>3</sup>; for details of the capture by Pharnaces in 183 B. C. are significantly absent. And there is no evidence of other hostilities at the time. Nor does Sinope ever appear to have been taken by a protracted siege. It was naturally so nearly impregnable that surprise and perfidy were the only available means of capturing it. Sinope's colonies fell with it. Pharnaces deported the inhabitants of Cotyora and Cerasus to a spot not far from Cerasus and there formed a new colony named after himself, Pharnaceia.<sup>4</sup> The Rhodians again showed their sympathy for Sinope<sup>5</sup> by sending ambassadors to Rome to complain of the fate of Sinope

<sup>1</sup> Polybius IV 56, καὶ τις οἷον ἀρχὴ τότε καὶ πρόφασις ἐγένετο τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος ἀχθείσης ἀτυχίας Σινωπεύσιν.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Polyb. l. c. For an amphora-handle with the name of a Rhodian month on it, which I found at Sinope, cf. Am. J. Arch. IX (1905), pp. 296, 297.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, XII, 545; Reinach-Götz, op. cit. p. 34; Bevan, The House of Seleucus II, 122.

<sup>4</sup> Arrian Peripl. 24 is speaking only in a general way when he says αὐτὴ φαρνάκεια πάλαι Κερασοῦς ἐκαλεῖτο Σινωπέων καὶ αὐτὴ ἀποικοῦς. Cf. Hamilton, op. cit.

<sup>5</sup> Polyb. XXIV, 10; Livy XL, 2, 20.

but failed to push the matter.<sup>1</sup> Pharnaces also sent ambassadors, but in the meanwhile prosecuted his campaign against Paphlagonia, Galatia, and Cappadocia. The Romans sent envoys to examine into the situation, but they accomplished nothing. However, in 178 B. C. peace was made and Pharnaces retired in the main from the districts named, but retained Sinope itself.<sup>2</sup> About this time he removed his capital from Amasia to Sinope. At Amasia below the citadel in the smoothed rock are still to be seen the five tombs of the Pontic kings.<sup>3</sup> The fifth one is in an unfinished state and the conjecture of Perrot<sup>4</sup> is interesting, that this was Pharnaces'<sup>5</sup> own sepulchre, the work upon which was abandoned for the construction of a new one at Sinope when he removed his seat of government to that place. But there are no monumental remains at Sinope to testify to the embellishment of the new capital by Pharnaces or even by Mithradates the Great.<sup>6</sup>

Although Pharnaces' successor, Mithradates III,<sup>7</sup> did so much for Sinope that he was called Euergetes, his large-hearted and enterprising figure appears but briefly on its stage. He sent Dorylaos to Crete for mercenary troops and while there the latter helped the Gnoossians against the Gortynians.<sup>8</sup> Mithradates III also had a share in the third Punic war<sup>9</sup> by sending ships to assist the Roman fleet, but he was suddenly murdered in his capital,<sup>10</sup> leaving behind him a wife and two boys, the older of whom became Mithradates the Great.<sup>11</sup> The limits of the present study prevent us from entering into the career of this strange and typical

<sup>1</sup> This was undoubtedly due, as Meyer (*Gesch. des Königreichs Pontus* p. 72) suggests, to the fear of injuring their commercial relations with the Pontus.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Polyb. XXVI 6.

<sup>3</sup> Appian, *Mithr.* 113; Hamilton, *op. cit.* I 339 ff.; Ritter, *Kleinasien* XVIII 154 ff.; Meyer, *op. cit.* p. 69; Strabo, XII 561; Anderson, *Studia Pontica*, p. 48.

<sup>4</sup> Perrot, Guillaume, et Delbet, *Exploration Arch. de la Galatie, Bithynie, Mysie, Phrygie, Carie, et du Pont*, I 371 (cf. pl. 80). Reinach-Götz, *op. cit.* p. 288, thinks the fifth grave was for the successor of Pharnaces. This seems to me unlikely. Cf. next note.

<sup>5</sup> Meyer, *op. cit.* p. 56 makes Pharnaces the fifth Pontic King. He would naturally have the fifth grave.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Lydia Paschkow, *Tour du Monde* (1889), p. 404.

<sup>7</sup> Reinach-Götz, *op. cit.* p. 27.

<sup>8</sup> Strabo, X 477.

<sup>9</sup> Appian, *Mithr.* 10.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Strabo, I. c.

<sup>11</sup> The epithet "Great" does not occur at all in official documents and only rarely elsewhere (cf. Suet. *Caes.* 35 and *Eutrop.* VI 22).



combination of Oriental cruelty and despotism with Greek culture and comprehensiveness. Indeed Reinach's monograph, which tells us of the Greek playmates of his boyhood and of the twenty-two languages he could talk and familiarizes us with his empire 2500 miles in length and reaching from Greece itself to the land of the Colchians, has made such entrance wholly unnecessary. We need only note for Sinope's honor that it was his birth-place;<sup>1</sup> that he made it his capital,<sup>2</sup> improved its double harbor, fortified it and put it in condition to resist the Romans, and embellished it with a market-place, stoas, and a gymnasium;<sup>3</sup> that his phil-hellenic appreciation<sup>4</sup> led him to make Greek his official language,<sup>5</sup> and to use Greek models in designing his coins, and to make the Sinopean Greek Diophantus his chief-general, through whom he freed the Greeks of the Tauric Chersonesus from the Scythian tyranny, as is shown by their grateful inscription discovered at Olbia.<sup>6</sup> The lustre of his character is the lustre of Sinopic Hellenism, while his barbarities may reasonably be charged to the Pontic and Persian blood which he claimed to have in his veins.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### SINOPE UNDER THE ROMANS.

Sinope does not figure in the first war between Mithradates and the Romans. In the course of the second Murena intended, following the best advice available, to besiege Sinope as the key to the whole country<sup>7</sup>; but, while still far distant from this strategic point, he was defeated at the Halys by the energy of Mithradates.<sup>8</sup> In the third war, however, Sinope is the scene of several important events. When Mithradates was forced by Lucullus to raise the siege of Cyzicus, he hastened away from the Propontis

<sup>1</sup> Head, *Hist. Numorum*, p. 423, says Amasia was his birth-place. But Strabo, who was related to Mithradates and himself came from Amasia, and hence would have known if Mith. had been born there, says (XII 545) *ὁ δὲ Εὐπάτωρ καὶ ἐγεννήθη ἐκεῖ (Sinope) καὶ ἐτράφη, διαφερόντως δὲ ἐτίμησεν αὐτὴν μητρόπολιν τε τῆς βασιλείας ὑπέλαβεν*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Strabo, l. c. and Cic. *De Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 21(8). For his palace at Sinope cf. Diod. XIV 31.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, l. c.

<sup>4</sup> Bevan, *op. cit.* I, p. 153.

<sup>5</sup> Reinach-Götze, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Dittenberger *Sylloge* 2 326.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Memnon 36 (Müller *F. H. G.* III, p. 544).

<sup>8</sup> Appian, *Mithr.* 65.

into the Euxine; but a storm destroyed most of his fleet and he was obliged to flee in a pirate's boat to Sinope.<sup>1</sup> Thence he sailed to Amisus, leaving Sinope under the control of pirates, led by Leonippus.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile Lucullus pushed on and finally came to Amisus, forced Mithradates to flee into Armenia, and turned his forces against the Pontic kingdom in general, taking such places as Heraclea. At last in 70 B. C. he appeared before Sinope.<sup>3</sup>

He found the pirates in full possession and confident in their sea power, for they had but lately defeated in a decisive battle fifteen triremes sent by the Romans under command of Censorinus.<sup>4</sup> The leaders of the pirates were Leonippus, Cleochares and Seleucus. Dissensions existed among them, and Leonippus had previously, sometime before the naval attack by Censorinus, undertaken to negotiate with the Romans for the betrayal of the city to them. But the other two members of the triumvirate of pirates had discovered the plot, called an assembly of the Sinopeans, and disclosed the treachery of Leonippus. He, however, enjoyed the confidence not only of Mithradates but also of the people of Sinope and Cleochares and Seleucus were obliged to resort to assassination to get rid of him. Soon after this deed came the defeat of the Roman fleet by that of the pirates.

After the victory over the Romans the pirates ruled Sinope with a high hand. The insecurity of their position caused Seleucus to propose to Cleochares the delivery of the city to the Romans. Cleochares, who favored continued resistance to the Romans, objected to the plan, perhaps because it involved the massacre of the people. Finally the two men shipped their goods to Machares at Colchis at the eastern end of the Pontus, intending to follow later themselves. But Machares entered into friendly communication with Lucullus. Lucullus agreed to an alliance provided Machares would send no provisions to the Sinopeans. Machares not only agreed to the proposal but went so far as to divert to Lucullus supplies intended for the army of Mithradates. Under these circumstances Cleochares himself despaired of success against the Romans. He and his followers

<sup>1</sup> Appian, *Mithr.* 78. Memnon 42 also mentions the storm but is silent about Mithradates' escape in a pirate's boat.

<sup>2</sup> Memnon 53 (Müller F. H. G. III, 554) *Λεόνιππος δὲ ὁ σὺν Κλεοχάρει παρὰ Μιθριδάτου τὴν Σινώπην ἐπιτραπείς*. Strabo, XII 546 *ὁ γὰρ ἐγκατασταθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως φρουράρχος Βακχίδης*.

<sup>3</sup> Appian, *Mithr.* 82, 83.

<sup>4</sup> On the name Censorinus at Sinope cf. *Am. J. Arch.* IX (1905) p. 310.

seized what valuables they could, gave their soldiers liberty to plunder the town, and fled in their lighter ships by night to the eastern end of the Pontus. Before starting, to avoid pursuit, they set fire to the remaining ships which were heavier and also (according to Plutarch) to the town. The sight of the flames apprised Lucullus of the situation. He ordered his scaling ladders against the walls, took the town, put 8000 of the pirates and their adherents to the sword, and then by a sudden change of plan stayed the slaughter, restored to the inhabitants their property, gave the city its freedom, and promoted its welfare.

The cause of the change was a statue which Lucullus saw lying upon the shore or being carried along by the citizens. It was wrapped up in linen and bound with ropes. But when uncovered at his command it proved to be the statue of Autolycus which the final haste of the pirates had prevented them from carrying away and which seemed to him to be the exact likeness of a figure which had appeared to him in a dream the very night before and had said to him "Go on a little further, Lucullus; for Autolycus is coming to see thee". The coincidence seemed to him a divine call to care for the city whose deity had so favorably appeared to him.<sup>1</sup> Thus Sinope passed into the power of the Romans and the story of its capture reveals one more phase in its strange, eventful history, and to almost every other possible form of government Sinope has now added a government by pirates. The transition to Roman rule marked an epoch in its history and a new era was dated from it, stamped on coins as the era of Lucullus.<sup>2</sup>

Some years of Roman order and organization, of Roman favor and Roman rebuilding, succeeded the anarchic violence of the piratical regime.<sup>3</sup> But the next striking scene on Sinope's streets was the pomp and splendor of the funeral procession of Mithradates the Great. His own son, the worthless Pharnaces II, was in power in the Cimmerian Bosphorus on the northern shore of

<sup>1</sup> On the capture cf. Plut. Luc. 23; Appian, Mithr. 83, and Memnon's detailed account c. 53, 54 (source Nymphis of Heraclea, 3rd cent. B. C.); cf. also Cic. pro lege Manil. VIII 21; Oros. VI 3; Strabo XII 546, Eutrop. VI 8; Reinach-Götz, Mithr., pp. 352, 353.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Eckel, *Doctrina Numorum* II 1, 394; Six, *Num. Chron.* 1885; Head, *Hist. Num.*

<sup>3</sup> Plut. Luc. 23 τῆς πόλεως ἐπεμελήθη. Appian, op. cit.; Memnon, op. cit. Cic., *De lege agr.* II 20, 353 shows that Sinope was under the Roman rule in the time of Pompey, who succeeded Lucullus in 66 B. C.

the Euxine. Thither the father, defeated by Pompey, had fled. But he met with an unfriendly reception and in despair ended his own life with poison and the sword.<sup>1</sup> To win the favor of Pompey, who was now at Sinope, Pharnaces sent the mutilated and all but unrecognizable corpse across the sea to him. But that large-hearted conqueror, whose own body, by a strange injustice of history, was to lie upon the Egyptian shore, decapitated, mutilated, dishonored and unburied, gave at his own expense a magnificent interment to his barbarian enemy. He viewed the body with emotion and averted eye and had it laid with marching and flute music in the royal tomb at Sinope.<sup>2</sup>

For going over to Rome Pharnaces received as his reward a kingdom on the northern shore; but it was too narrow for his ambitions, and while Pompey was absent in his western war with Julius Caesar, Pharnaces crossed the sea and took Sinope from Calvinus, who had been given charge of Pompey's territory. There are no details of the capture, but in 47 B. C. Caesar, after conquering Pompey at Pharsalus and pursuing him to Egypt, marched rapidly against Pharnaces and quickly overthrew him in the "veni, vidi, vici" battle of Zela. Pharnaces fled to Sinope by way of the Amisus road, made his ignoble agreement there with Calvinus that if allowed to depart in safety, he would remain upon the northern shore, whither he went to end his career by dying in battle, wounded by a personal enemy.<sup>3</sup>

Beginning with Pompey, Bithynia and Pontus were formed into one province.<sup>4</sup> He endeavored to improve the condition of the cities he captured by giving them better laws and regulations,<sup>5</sup> and we cannot doubt that after his visit to the place Sinope experienced the beneficial effects of his attentions. But the important event in the city's improvement was a considerable influx of new blood in the colony sent by Julius Caesar about 45 B. C.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Appian, *Mithr.* 111, 112; Dio Cass. XXXVII 3, 11-13; Plut. *Pomp.* 41; Oros. VI 5; Eutrop. VI 12.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. *Pomp.* 42; Appian, *Mithr.* 113; Dio Cass. XXXVII 14.

<sup>3</sup> Appian, *Mithr.* 120; Dio Cass. XLII 46-8; Appian, *Bell. Civ.* II 91, 92; Plut. *Caes.* 50; Suet., *Jul. Caes.* 35, 37; J. H. S. 1901, p. 59.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo, XII 541; J. H. S. 1901, p. 60; and Schoenemann, *De Bithynia et Ponto, Provincia Romana* (Göttingen 1855); cf. also Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, vol. I, p. 351.

<sup>5</sup> Appian, *Mithr.*, 115.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Strabo XII 546; Pliny, *Epist.* X 91 "coloniam Sinopensem"; Pliny, *N. H.* VI 2 "colonia Sinope"; Appian, *Mithr.* 120, 121.

Another chronological era dates from this time.<sup>1</sup> It marks a new era of prosperity also. The evidence of an imperial coinage is always perfunctory, and in the C. I. F. or C. R. I. F. S. or C. I. F. S. (Colonia Julia Felix Sinope)<sup>2</sup> which now makes its appearance on the city's coins<sup>3</sup> and in inscriptions on stone<sup>4</sup> the "Felix" is not necessarily descriptive, and indeed shows itself with almost monotonous continuity down to the time of Gallienus. Even the *λαμπροτάτη*<sup>5</sup> on a sarcophagus is tainted with a kind of municipal cant. But, as a matter of fact, becoming a Roman colony included very tangible municipal privileges as well as a strong addition to the population. The new colonists were not distributed throughout the city but occupied a separate quarter by themselves,<sup>6</sup> while the remaining territory was occupied by the earlier inhabitants who had survived the fire and sword of the Mithradatic wars.

The history of Sinope being thus merged in the world-embracing history of Rome, its separate annals are largely lost to view. Almost the only mention of it at this time is found in Josephus who speaks of Marcus Agrippa's warm greeting of Herod there and the departure of the two in 16 B. C. upon an expedition to the Cimmerian Bosphorus.<sup>7</sup> The same old natural sources of commercial prosperity continued. The fish still appears on the coins and the figure of Ceres and the plough.<sup>8</sup> Strabo<sup>9</sup> writes of the beauty of the city and its surroundings in words to which we have referred in an earlier chapter. Roman mile-

<sup>1</sup> Eckel, *Doctr. Num.* II, 391 f.; Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung* I 357; Schoenemann, *op. cit.* p. 96; Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 435.

<sup>2</sup> C. I. A. S. or C. A. S. (colonia Augusta Sinope) also occurs. It is not surprising to find Augustus' name on the coins. He was regarded as a king in Paphlagonia, temples were built to him, and his cult established, cf. *Revue d. Études Gr.* 1901, pp. 26-45.

<sup>3</sup> Mionnet, *Descr. de Médailles Antiques* II 400 f.; IV 575 f.; Eckel, *Doctr. Num.* II 1, 389 f.; Rasche, *Lex. Num.* IV 2, 1105 f.; Cohen, *Description historique des monnaies* V, pp. 123, 174, 324, 474; Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, pp. 6-10, p. 231, pl. I; Macdonald, *Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection* II, p. 238; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*; *Six, Num. Chron.* 1885; Head, *Hist. Num.*; Schoenemann, *op. cit.* p. 96.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. C. I. L. III 239, 6978.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *λαμπροτάτη κολωνεία* in *Am. J. Arch.* IX (1905), p. 314.

<sup>6</sup> Strabo XII 546, *ὡν δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀποικίαν δέδεκται καὶ μέρος τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐκείνων ἐστί.*

<sup>7</sup> Josephus, *Arch.* XVI 21; Dio Cass. LIV 24.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Mionnet, etc., as cited above; Imhoof-Blumer, *op. cit.* p. 7, 4; pl. I 7.

<sup>9</sup> XII 545, 546.

stones were set up in the vicinity and a multitude of inscriptions,<sup>1</sup> honoring Germanicus, Tiberius, Agrippina, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius and other lesser Romans testify, if the testimony were needed, how completely Sinope had become merged in Rome.

And yet in a general way it seems permissible to indicate certain ascending stages by which the city's prosperity and honor were increased. Whatever the general welfare of Sinope under the Roman Republic, it nevertheless had to suffer from the self-seeking ambitions of its governors, who regarded their provinces as prizes to be exploited in their own interests. A better day came under the more solid government of the Empire, for there was at least some sense of responsibility felt by the proconsuls to the authorities at Rome. In the time of Augustus, however, Bithynia and Pontus were not an imperial province but were under the Senate.<sup>2</sup> Her proconsuls were appointed for a year at a time. Their characters doubtless varied very greatly and continuous plans for the improvement of the city, stretching over a considerable period, were unlikely to be made. But under Trajan Bithynia and Pontus became an Imperial province and its governor was obliged to consult the Emperor even upon matters of detail and to be responsible to him for his administration, so that an Imperial province, at least under such an Emperor as Trajan, was better off than a senatorial one. In the younger Pliny Sinope had a governor of unusually excellent personal qualities. His construction of an aqueduct, by which a much needed supply of pure water was brought from a distance of sixteen miles in the interior, testifies to his care for the physical well-being of the inhabitants, while his thoughtful and discriminating report in regard to the new superstition, Christianity, shows a similar consideration of mental and spiritual welfare.<sup>3</sup>

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE CIVILIZATION OF SINOPE.

"To high Sinope's distant realms  
Whence cynics rail'd at human pride".

*Tennyson, Persia.*

The external history of ancient Sinope, as we have now studied it, interests us by its striking vicissitudes. But more important

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Am. J. Arch.* IX (1905), pp. 310, 327-329.

<sup>2</sup> *Dio Cass.* LIII 12; *Strabo* XVII 840; *Suet. Aug.* 47; *Tac. Ann.* I 74.

<sup>3</sup> *Pliny, Ep.* X 90, 91. On the aqueduct cf. *A. J. P.* XXVII, p. 131.

than battles, captures, recaptures, autonomies and successive subjections is the internal history of its people, the instruction their annals give in the development of the race in character and culture, government, occupation, literature, and art.

Sinope's position on the borderland between Orient and Occident gave it a strange and cosmopolitan mixture of nationalities. The Assyrian element was in force down to the fourth century. The native Paphlagonian was there. The subtle and finished Greek, with his peculiar power of communicating his civilization, the wily and treacherous Persian, and the resolute Roman successively found their way to the chief Pontic sea-port and despite depopulations and municipal tragedies of all sorts, Sinopean civilization must, in its rude frontier fashion, have acquired something of that universal character which Rome had in its larger and more magnificent way, when in its hour of power the different elements of the world were poured into it. There must have been, at first successive and afterwards synchronous, many different costumes and complexions, many languages spoken, many cults observed, many conflicting ideas of honor and dishonor and many individual acts both brave and base.

What the characteristic spirit and temper of the people of this frontier sea-port were is a question of profound interest. What mental and intellectual qualities did Sinope's able men nourish and develop? An answer seems obtainable and is what would naturally be expected. Life at the limit line of civilization is perpetually bringing forward sharp contrasts between the rude and the cultured, the cowardly and the brave, the blunt-minded and the keen. Constant hardship and privation teach such men to scorn delights and luxuries, to increase the catalogue of things they can go without and to write the articles of necessity in the fewest lines. The temper of mind becomes independent, brave, terse, and cynical. That this was the characteristic Sinopean spirit is evident from the quality of literary genius her men developed after being transferred to the congenial soil of Athens. The Sinopean product there was the keen laconic contempt of Diogenes (412-323) and in the new comedy ludicrous scenes drawn from the realism of life and executed with a fine scorn extending in Diphilus even to the chronology which makes Hipponax and Archilochus suitors of Sappho.<sup>1</sup> Not that Sinope

<sup>1</sup> Athen. XIII 599 d.

produced no historians or geographers,<sup>1</sup> for our appendix of Sinopeans will show that she did; but scarcely a line from them has survived and chroniclers seldom mention their names, while the apophthegms of Diogenes and the jests of Dionysius and of the brothers Diodorus and Diphilus<sup>2</sup> are repeatedly found in quotations and fragments which have had too much life in them to be allowed to die; and when the authors themselves passed away their honored names were cut into Athenian gravestones. The tradition that Diogenes fled with his father to Athens because the latter had been detected in forging or adulterating coins, the entrance of the young man into the school of Antisthenes, indeed the whole career of this remarkable cynic are not to be cited in this connection.<sup>3</sup> Nor need the multiplied jests which Athenaeus and Stobaeus quote be exploited; but the individual courage amounting to recklessness which made Diogenes ask Alexander to get from between him and the sun, the casting aside of the wooden bowl after he saw the lad drink from the hollow of his hand, the reduction of his living quarters to a *pithos*, together with the coarse fun of the comic poets, perpetually directed against the irksome embarrassments of the parasitic temper, which cannot live from its own resources but eats the bread of belittling dependence upon the wealthy, may serve to reflect that ready individual courage of man against man, that cheerful acceptance of hardships in matters of food and shelter and especially that rough humor and biting scorn of everything soft and effeminate, which is continually putting itself in evidence all along the line of adventurous colonial life. The fully developed form of Sinope's peculiar talent, the only talent of which she gives any great literary evidence, coming to flower when transplanted to the favoring soil of Athens in such instances as that of Diogenes;<sup>4</sup> of the brilliant slave Cynic, Menippus,<sup>5</sup> whose skilful combination of prose and poetry led the Roman Varro

<sup>1</sup> E. g. Baton, Diophantus, and Theopompus.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Prosopographia Sinopensis.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Diog. Laer. Vitae Phil. VI; cf. Zeitschrift für Numismatik XXIII (1901), p. 138; and Six, Num. Chron. 1885, p. 50, for coins with ΔΙΟ and 'Ικεσίον on them; cf. also C.I.G. 7074.

<sup>4</sup> What time these men went to Athens it is impossible to tell, but probably it was early in their career, because they seem to have imbibed the spirit of Athenian life so deeply. Their fragments show no explicit references to their native town.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Prosopographia Sinopensis.



into imitation;<sup>1</sup> of Hegesaeus the Cynic,<sup>2</sup> and of the line of comic poets which I have indicated, clearly points back to its hardy beginnings in its indigenous Sinopean soil.

The scenic character of Sinope must always have tended to induce in its people a spirit of boldness and freedom. The mountains lay behind them and their lofty promontory commanded a far-reaching view of the sea. The combination of mountain and sea, together with their geographic isolation, must have helped them to that boldness and freedom of spirit and that individualism and enterprise for whose presence in the Greeks of the motherland so much credit is given to the similar features of her natural scenery. Such people have the travelling instinct and we are not surprised to find great numbers of them at Athens.<sup>3</sup> A stronger testimony is the inscription of their names as *πρόξενοι* at Delphi,<sup>4</sup> at Histiaea in Euboea<sup>5</sup> and, more remarkably still, at the secluded interior town of Cleitor in Arcadia.<sup>6</sup>

Material for constructing the history of the governmental development of Sinope is meagre. The tantalizing numismatic list of magistrates<sup>7</sup> belonging to the autonomous period yields the names of no specific offices. The names of only two tyrants<sup>8</sup> are known and the mention of public assemblies is bare of details. From an inscription at Sinope (Am. J. Arch. IX (1905), p. 312, No. 40) we know that in the Macedonian epoch there were *prytanies* as at Athens. We have a list of fourteen *πρυτάνεις* of whom one is *ἐπιστάτης τῆς βουλῆς* and another *γραμματεὺς*. Even in Roman times details of the method of the city's government are lacking. The municipal functions of the priestly *ποντάρχης* are hardly evident beyond the obligation to give public games at his own expense.<sup>9</sup> From Roman mile-stones we learn the name of Aur. Priscianus who was *praeses pr(ovincia) P(onti)* and that *praeses* was used

<sup>1</sup> A good specimen of the Menippean satire is Seneca's Apocolocyntosis of Claudius. Cf. Bücheler's Petronius.

<sup>2</sup> Pupil of Diogenes, cf. Diog. L., VI 84. An inscription from Sinope makes even Perseus a Cynic, because he too carries a pouch and the *ἄρπη*, the equivalent of the Cynic's *βάκτρον*, cf. Am. J. Arch. IX (1905), pp. 320-322. The harlot Sinope, who took her name from her native town, should also be cited, cf. A. J. P. XXVII, p. 133.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Prosopographia Sinopensis.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Am. J. Arch. IX (1905), p. 330.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ibid., pp. 332, 333.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Ibid. p. 330.

<sup>7</sup> Six, Num. Chron. 1885, p. 50.

<sup>8</sup> Timesilaus and Scydrothemis.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Am. J. Arch. I. c., pp. 311, 312; J. H. S., 1900, p. 154; Revue des Études Anc., 1901, p. 138.

in a technical sense before the time of Diocletian. The change to *praesides* was made by Probus or Carus, not by Severus or Aurelian, as has generally been supposed (cf. Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, pp. 240, 263; *Am. J. Arch.* l. c. pp. 328, 329; *A. J. P.* XXVII, p. 139, n. 2). But Sinope's early constitutional history must go unwritten by moderns until the discovery of the ancient one which Aristotle composed.

We know more about the occupations of the people. The fish, the plough, the ship, are on the city's coins.<sup>1</sup> The maker of amphoras and other pottery,<sup>2</sup> the weaver of nets, the forger of steel implements of good repute,<sup>3</sup> the wood-cutters who felled the trees for the timber-exports,<sup>4</sup> the skilful Greek engineers and ship-builders,<sup>5</sup> were all there. The slave was there, though only two are known by name,<sup>6</sup> the physician<sup>7</sup> also and the priest and priestess,<sup>8</sup> the soldier, and the sailor, always in evidence at such a sea-port. The lyre held by Apollo on coins<sup>9</sup> reminds us of the presence of musicians. And for the hours of recreation there were athletic contests and, at least in Roman days, though no remains of any amphitheatre are to be found, bull-fights and hunting exhibitions.<sup>10</sup>

The early settlement of Sinope by the Milesian Greeks guaranteed its people a continuous course in physical culture. One of them took the prize for boxing in the contest *ἀγρεῖους πυγμῆν* at the Amphiaraiia at Oropus about 350 B. C.<sup>11</sup> An Attic inscription gives us the list of victories won by the Sinopean Valerius Eclectus in 248 A. D.<sup>12</sup> Still another, Damostratus, won six

<sup>1</sup> For the fish cf. Head op. cit.; Six, *Num. Chron.*, 1885; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*; for the plough cf. Imhoof-Blumer, op. cit. p. 7, no. 4, pl. I 7; for the ship's prow cf. *A. J. P.* XXVII, p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Am. J. Arch.* l. c. pp. 294-302.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *A. J. P.* XXVII, p. 143.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *A. J. P.* XXVII, pp. 140, 141.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. p. 245 and Polyæn. VII 21, 2, 5 who says the Sinopeans had a multitude *ἀρχιτεκτόνων, τεχνιτῶν, τεκτόνων, ναυπηγῶν*.

<sup>6</sup> Manes: cf. Aelian V. H. 13, 28; Diog. Laert. VI 55; Seneca, *De Tranq. Animi* VIII 5; Strabo VII 304; Strabo XII 553; Menippus: cf. *Prosopogr. Sinopensis*. Cf. also Plaut. *Curc.* 443.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Am. J. Arch.* l. c., p. 315, no. 44.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 312, no. 39; p. 322, no. 63.

<sup>9</sup> Six, *Num. Chron.* 1885, pl. II 18, 19; *J. H. S.* IX. p. 300.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Am. J. Arch.* l. c., p. 311.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Hestiaeus in *Prosopogr. Sinopensis*, also *Am. J. Arch.* l. c., p. 330.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Prosopogr. Sinopensis*.

wrestling contests at the Isthmian games.<sup>1</sup> I may add that there is at Sinope itself at least one evidence of athletic glory. I found there an inscription of which only one word remains, but that word is *παράδοξος*, a victor in the *πάλη* and *παγκράτιον*.<sup>2</sup> All these evidences point to a multitude of other successful Sinopean contestants and to a still larger multitude of unsuccessful ones. This love of athletics would, of course, be self-evident in Roman times, even without Strabo's mention of the gymnasium<sup>3</sup> and without the inscription which gives the name of its director, Claudius Potelius.<sup>4</sup>

Ancient Greece had one great literary focus at which, unless hindered by some special civic enmity, as in Pindar's case, all literary genius centred. The literary element in Sinope's civilization, therefore, must not be judged by the works published within her walls; for no such publications, unless possibly it be the editing of her edition of Homer,<sup>5</sup> can be proved. She must be judged rather by the product of her citizens after they had migrated to the motherland. That product included the long list of Baton's histories, the work on earthquakes by Theopompus, who is sometimes considered a geographer and sometimes an historian, and the writings of Diophantus, who was historian as well as general; it included the Cynic philosophies of Diogenes, Menippus and Hegesaeus, and the Epicurean of Timotheus of the first century B. C.; it included the comedies of Dionysius, Diphilus, and Diodorus, and the epigrams of Heracleides.<sup>6</sup> In the field of oratory, in fine, we must not forget Xenophon's critical estimate of Hecatonymus as *δεινὸς λέγειν*.<sup>7</sup> On a previous page I have already indicated the field in which men of Sinopean origin said their best remembered words. But the list of names we have just recited shows that their general literary activity was not inconsiderable.

Sinope cannot boast with certainty of any painter or sculptor.<sup>8</sup> Doubtless she had paintings which, like those of the rest of the Greek world, have perished. In any case, her streets and squares and shrines were not devoid of statues. Those of her great Cynic<sup>9</sup> may possibly have been carved in Sinope itself, but the

<sup>1</sup> Anth. Plan. 3, 25.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo XII 545.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. A. J. P. XXVII, p. 133.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Xen. Anab. V, 5, 7.

<sup>8</sup> *Χρησστός* is simply a *λιθουργός* of late date, cf. Am. J. Arch. l. c., p. 331.

<sup>9</sup> Diog. Laert. VI 78.

<sup>2</sup> Am. J. Arch. l. c., p. 324.

<sup>4</sup> Am. J. Arch. l. c., p. 311.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Prosopogr. Sinopensis.

celebrated figure of Autolycus, which probably had its shrine, for he was consulted as an oracle, was the work of the Olynthian Sthennis in the fourth century.<sup>1</sup> As to the sculptor of the storied statue of Serapis, which according to Tacitus and others was carried off to Egypt, we are not informed.<sup>2</sup> And as to the precise nature of the "sphere" of the astronomer Billarus we are equally left in the dark.<sup>3</sup> In later years statues of the emperors would multiply and doubtless the cylindrical stone, now there, whose top is hollowed out into a mortar for grinding corn, and which bears an inscription to Marcus Aurelius<sup>4</sup> was the pedestal of a statue set up in his honor. No doubt many pieces of sculpture have been carried off to other lands. There is, for example, in the Museum at Constantinople an excellent sarcophagus from Sinope with sculptures of boys bearing grapes. Many of plainer type are still to be seen in Sinope. We have already had occasion<sup>5</sup> to mention the archaic coins of the fifth century bearing a head with bulging eyes, high cheek-bones and typical smile, and on the reverse the simple incuse square, and we have noted the finer coins that were minted after Athenian influences had come with Pericles, after 444 B. C.<sup>6</sup> The relief of Hera with a nymph before her mentioned in the *Syllogos*<sup>7</sup> I could not find; but I discovered a "Funeral Banquet" relief of Roman date, which has not been published. The execution is not of high order but the design is worthy of mention because it is the only specimen, so far as I know, which depicts so many pieces of armor together. Usually there is only a shield or a helmet, but in this one there are helmet, shield, greaves, and spear represented as hanging on the wall. It is about 0.31 high by 0.35m. in width. Perhaps one should not omit the two lions of inferior Roman workmanship, one built into the wall, the other lying on the ground. These and the "Funeral Banquet" relief just mentioned are the only objects of ancient art I noticed in Sinope, aside from a few terracotta figurines. The disfigured bust thought by the inhabitants to represent Autolycus has been carried off from its niche in the wall of the Byzantine tower.<sup>8</sup> Meagre as these materials are, they

<sup>1</sup> Strabo XII 546; Appian, *Mith.* 83; Plut. *Luc.* 23; Löwy, *Inschriften Griech. Bildhauer* 103<sup>a</sup>, 481, 541; Sthennis of Olynthus is identical with Σθένης Ἡροδόρου Ἀθηναῖος; cf. also Overbeck, *Antike Schriftquellen*, 1343-1349.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Chap. X init.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo XII 546.

<sup>4</sup> C. I. L. III 239, 6978.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. A. J. P. XXVII, p. 151.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 153.

<sup>7</sup> *Syllogos* κζ' 1900, pp. 263-264.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Hommaire de Hell*, op. cit., p. 346.

enable us to think of Sinope as having some satisfactions, perhaps much more numerous than we can now conceive, for the constant human desire to fix the forms of men and living things in stone.

Of the architecture of ancient Sinope, its art as carried into building, no more can be said than of its other art. Notwithstanding the care<sup>1</sup> with which the city was built, the old structures have perished. The only possible trace I could find of the aqueduct is in the arches against which part of the city wall is built.<sup>2</sup> The wall also contains, as before noted,<sup>3</sup> pieces of architraves with inscriptions and columns. Two of these inscriptions testify to a building, or at least parts of a building, having been erected at the expense of certain individuals.<sup>4</sup> We know that different men did sometimes put their means together to erect a structure, while at other times the whole building was finished at the expense of one person.<sup>5</sup> Either supposition may have been the fact in regard to these fragments. Quarries still exist out on the promontory.<sup>6</sup> The finest of Mithradates' palaces was at Sinope<sup>7</sup> but all its adornments, together with the stoas, gymnasium, and market-place of later times, have disappeared and left no trace.<sup>8</sup>

## CHAPTER X.

### THE CULTS AT SINOPE.

Many deities were worshipped at Sinope. The literary evidence, which consists of Strabo's account of an oracle of Autolycus<sup>9</sup> and of what Tacitus, Plutarch, Macrobius and Clement of Alexandria say about Ptolemy's securing the image of Serapis from Sinope, is scant.<sup>10</sup> But the inscriptions upon altars and upon other stones, together with the legends and figures on coins, afford a considerable bulk of testimony. By collating this we find at Sinope cults of seven gods out of the Great Twelve: Zeus, Apollo,

<sup>1</sup> Strabo XII 545.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. J. P. XXVII, p. 131.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Am. J. Arch.* l. c., p. 306, no. 33; p. 307, no. 34.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *ibid.* p. 307.

<sup>6</sup> Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

<sup>7</sup> Reinach-Götze *op. cit.*, p. 287; Diod. XIV 31; Cic. *De Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 21(8).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. A. J. P. XXVII, p. 130.

<sup>9</sup> Strabo XII 546.

<sup>10</sup> Tac. *Hist.* IV 83, 84; Plut. *de Iside et Osir.* c. 28, 362a (source Manetho); De Sollertia *Animalium* 36, 984; Eust. *ad. Dionys. Per.* 255; Steph. *Byz.* s. v; Clem. *Protrept.* IV, 48 (26 ed. Sylburg); Macrobius *Saturn.* I 4; Cyrill. *Jul.* p. 13.

Athena, Hermes, Ares, Poseidon, and Demeter;<sup>1</sup> of five of the later importations: Dionysus, Asclepius, the Dioscuri, Serapis, and Isis;<sup>2</sup> of four mythical heroes: Autolycus, Phlogius, Perseus, and Heracles;<sup>3</sup> of four astral divinities: Helios, Selene, Hydrachoos, and Sirius;<sup>4</sup> and of six of the abstract or generalized conceptions: Nemesis, Themis, Eros, Nike, Hygieia, and Fortuna.<sup>5</sup> I found there also an altar θεῶν μεγάλων ὑψίστου.<sup>6</sup> Lanaras had previously discovered one θεῶν ὑψίστου.<sup>7</sup> There are no large altars. That such existed we may argue from the presence of the great statues of Autolycus and Serapis, but the iconoclasm of the Christian and of the Mohammedan has left no trace of them. Those to be seen at Sinope, numerous as they are, are small. The largest one stands in a field and is only 91 cm. in height, including the rough portion of 17 cm. which was under ground.<sup>8</sup> Two others about 50 cm. high have been carried into an apothecary shop.<sup>9</sup> Another, 58 cm. high, stands in a back yard,<sup>10</sup> and another, 49 cm. high, supports the wooden post of a porch.<sup>11</sup> All have the same general form, with projecting bases and tops, and

<sup>1</sup> Ζεὺς δικαϊσίννος μέγας, Am. J. Arch. IX (1905), p. 302; Ζεὺς ἥλιος ναυδαμηνὸς ἐπὶ ἥκοος, Ibid. p. 303; for a similar epithet of Zeus, εὐρυδαμηνός, cf. Revue Arch. 1888, II, p. 223; Sterrett, Wolfe Expedition, no. 589; J. H. S. XVIII, p. 96; Ramsay, Cl. Review, 1905, pp. 417, 419. The Sinope inscription does not favor Ramsay's connection of the epithet with Men, the moon-god. The epithet is probably local. Hermes, Am. J. Arch. I. c., p. 323; on Poseidon cf. below. All seven appear on coins, cf. works on coins as cited, p. 256, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> Asclepius, Am. J. Arch. IX (1905), p. 306; Serapis, Ibid. pp. 315, 331; Isis, Ibid. p. 312; for Dionysus, the Dioscuri, Serapis, and Isis cf. works on coins as cited, p. 256, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> Autolycus, Strabo XII 546; Appian, Mithr. 83; Phlogius, Am. J. Arch. IX (1905), p. 306; Perseus, Ibid. pp. 320-322. Heracles, Ibid. p. 305, also on coins, cf. Imhoof-Blumer, Monnaies Grecques p. 230, no. 13; Num. Chron. 1885, pl. II, 18; for Heracles and Perseus cf. also the works on coins cited. For Perseus at the neighboring town of Amisus cf. Cumont, Revue Archéologique V (1905), pp. 180 f. Perseus was the mythical ancestor of the Achaemenidae with whom Mithradates the Great, born at Sinope, claimed relationship.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Am. J. Arch. I. c. p. 323. For the head of Helios on coins of Sinope cf. Mionnet, op. cit. suppl. IV, p. 574, 131; British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins, Pontus, pl. XXII, 15. De Koehne, Description du musée de M. le prince Kotschoubey p. 59 thinks that the cult of Helios was introduced into Olbia from Sinope. Cf. Hirst, The Cults of Olbia, J. H. S. XXII, p. 43.

<sup>5</sup> Hygieia, Am. J. Arch. I. c., p. 306; Themis, Ibid. p. 323; for the others cf. works on coins as cited above.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. p. 304.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. p. 306.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. p. 303.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. p. 306, nos. 28, 29.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. p. 305.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. p. 304.

inscriptions occupying the smooth space between. The inscriptions are upon one side only and have the same general wording, conveying the name of the dedicator, the god to whom set up, and a general votive expression.

The statue and the shrine of Autolycus imply a temple where those who consulted the oracle of the city's founder might meet.<sup>1</sup> The two-columned portico in which Nemesis stands on many imperial coins is proof that a temple of that goddess existed at Sinope.<sup>2</sup> Another temple appears from the expression of the woman Rheipane, who declared herself honored because she dwelt "near pure Serapis", i. e., near to his temple.<sup>3</sup> If we receive the stories which relate the carrying off of Serapis to Alexandria their mention of a colossal statue and of the worship of the god at Sinope are another indication of the existence of his temple there. Other temples there doubtless were to other gods named in the lists already given, but these three are reasonably certain.

The sea-girt peninsula would not long be without some worship of Poseidon.<sup>4</sup> On coins<sup>5</sup> the figure of the god appears both seated and standing and in both cases with the familiar dolphin and trident, one in one hand, the other in the other. The prominence of this cult at Sinope appears from a decree giving valuable perquisites to the priest of Poseidon Heliconius.<sup>6</sup> He is to be exempt from military duty. At public contests he is to have a wreath and wine. In certain months he is to have the right leg, the loins, and the tongue of public sacrifices, and of private sacrifices the loins or shoulder-blade and breast. The worship of this god would naturally begin at an early date, and we find his image on many pre-imperial coins as well as upon those of the later emperors.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Strabo XII 546; Appian, *Mithr.* 83.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. coins of Trajan, Caracalla, Maximinus, Gordianus, Philippus Junior, also Faustina, Tranquillinus in works cited, p. 256, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Am. J. Arch.* l. c. p. 315. The temple undoubtedly stood in the Greek Quarter where this inscription and *Am. J. Arch.* l. c. p. 312, no. 40 were found, not at the narrowest part of the isthmus just outside the walls to the southwest, where a Byzantine church was excavated, as is stated in *Parnassos* VI 86g.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the name Poseidonius on vase-handles from Sinope, *Am. J. Arch.* l. c. pp. 300, 301. *Ποσειδεών* occurs as the name of one of the months, cf. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 603.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 435 and other works on coins as cited, p. 256, note 3.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Dittenberger l. c. *Am. J. Arch.* l. c. p. 331, no. 87, also shows worship of Poseidon.

The significance of Sinope's worship of Apollo is somewhat obscure. He was regarded as the founder of Miletus,<sup>1</sup> and Sinope was founded by the Milesians who naturally would promote the worship of their home-god at the new settlement. The migration of the god from the west is further indicated in those forms of the story of the rape of Sinope which spoke of her as being brought from Boeotia by Apollo.<sup>2</sup> The representations on coins are various. One is an archaic figure standing near a tripod, with laurel branch in one hand and an ointment vase in the other. Another represents him with laurel wreath, seated on the omphalos, with lyre in hand.<sup>3</sup>

The most prominent Sinopean deity was Serapis. From the time of Hadrian on by far the most frequent figure on her coins was Serapis,<sup>4</sup> and if we go back to the fourth century B. C. the testimony of the great Cynic is decisive in the same direction. The Athenians declared Alexander to be Dionysus.<sup>5</sup> "Then call me Serapis" said Diogenes, implying of course that that was the important local god of his native city.

The worship of the heavenly bodies was always prominent at Sinope. Its name was probably connected with Sin, the Assyrian moon-god and its early Assyrian settlers doubtless brought that worship with them.<sup>6</sup> There has heretofore been no known Sinopean inscription with Selene expressly mentioned nor even any representation of Selene on coins; but a new inscription contains the names of six deities, one of which is Selene.<sup>7</sup> This is one more testimony to the persistence of the moon cult. It is worth noting that three of the other names, Helios, Hydrachos, and Sirius, also belong to heavenly bodies, the remaining two being Themis and Hermes.

The Sinopeans hearing of Serapis in Egypt, a combination of Osiris, the sun-god, and Apis,<sup>8</sup> identified him with their own native god, Zeus Helios, and the Egyptians in turn hearing of the Sinopean deity, Zeus Hades, who Reinach thinks was none other

<sup>1</sup> Curtius, *Gr. Geschichte* I 493.    <sup>2</sup> Cf. A. J. P. XXVII, pp. 147, 148.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 435 and other works cited, p. 256, note 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Num. Zeit.* XXI (1889), pp. 2 f., 385 f. A table I made shows that Serapis is the most frequent figure on imperial coins. Nemesis is second.

<sup>5</sup> *Diog. Laert.* VI 63.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. chap. IV (A. J. P. XXVII, p. 144 f.)

<sup>7</sup> *Am. J. Arch.* I. c., p. 323.

<sup>8</sup> Wilcken, *Sarapis und Osiris-Apis* (*Archiv* III, p. 249 f.) objects to the derivation of Serapis from Osiris and Apis. But cf. Lehmanns, *Sarapis contra Oserapis*, *Beitr. z. alt. Geschichte* IV (1904), p. 396.



than the hellenized national god of the Paphlagonians,<sup>1</sup> identified him with their Serapis, giving him attributes not Egyptian. Something like this, I think, is the explanation of the story that arose about Ptolemy Soter having the colossal statue of the god of Sinope brought to Alexandria.<sup>2</sup> In any case Helios and Serapis were practically identified even in Egypt, just as we know them to have been in Sinope.<sup>3</sup>

Along with the worship of Serapis naturally goes that of Isis, whose head occurs on coins. A priestess of Isis is known from an inscription found at Sinope.<sup>4</sup>

The cult of the emperors, which in the provinces was so strong as a political and social unifying force, flourished in Paphlagonia, where we know there was, for example, a temple and cult of Augustus.<sup>5</sup> A similar worship doubtless existed in Sinope. Perhaps the inscription to Marcus Aurelius found there indicates divine honors paid to him. The strongest evidence of emperor worship in Sinope is the head of Augustus or some other emperor on what we may call the divine side of coins, that is, the side where the figures of deities were usually placed, and the name of some other as yet undeified emperor on the other side.

Finally came Christianity, which placed the cross<sup>6</sup> upon tombstones and churches and for a time caused the pagan temples to

<sup>1</sup> Reinach-Götz, *op. cit.*, p. 232; Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* II 291. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Aegypten*, p. 11 f. thinks Serapis is a chthonic deity native to Egypt and not originally an oriental god as believes Preuschen in his *Mönchtum und Sarapiskult.* So also Bouché-Leclercq, *Revue de l'histoire des religions* XLVI (1902), p. 1 f. On Serapis-cult at Alexandria cf. also Lafaye, *Histoire des divinités d'Alexandrie* p. 16 f.; Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie*, p. 1576 f. (Von Müller's *Handbuch der kl. Alt. V*, 2, 2, 3); Mahaffy, *Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 72; *The Silver Age of the Greek World* p. 401.

<sup>2</sup> Zoega, *Nummi Aegyptii*, p. 133, no. 309, thinks a coin of Hadrian represents the Sinopean statue being taken on board ship. On the whole mooted question cf. Wilkinson, *The Ancient Egyptians* III, p. 95 f.; Plew, *de Sarapide* (Königsberg 1868), p. 20, who takes the name of the mountain near Memphis, Sinopion, to be a mere fiction to connect the Sinopean tradition with that of Memphis, and rightly I think, cf. also J. H. S. VI (1885), p. 289 f.; *Jahrbuch des arch. deut. Inst.*, 1897, *Anzeiger*, p. 169; 1898, pp. 154, 166 f., 172 f. Representations of Serapis in art always follow the Greek type probably created by Bryaxis, cf. Reinach, *Le moulage des statues et le Sérapis de Bryaxis*, *Revue Arch.* XXXIX (1902), p. 5 f.

<sup>3</sup> C. I. G., 4683 f.; *Am. J. Arch.* l. c. p. 306, no. 30.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 312.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. p. 256, note 2.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Am. J. Arch.* l. c., pp. 311, 322, 325, 326, 329.

be all but deserted and nearly ruined the market for sacrificial animals. Many of the Christians, about whom Pliny the younger wrote in his famous letter<sup>1</sup> to Trajan, must have lived in Sinope, for the "contagion of this superstition" "seized upon the cities", of which Sinope was an important one. "The Christians were wont to meet together on a stated day, before it was light, and to sing among themselves alternately a hymn to Christ as to God and bind themselves by an oath, not to the commission of any wickedness, but not to be guilty of theft or robbery or adultery, never to falsify their word, nor to deny a pledge committed to them when called upon to return it". A fuller discussion of the Christian worship of this district as referred to in Pliny's letter belongs to the domain of Church History rather than to this paper. Yet any account of Sinopean cults would be incomplete without this much.

PROSOPOGRAPHIA SINOPENSIS.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ἀγαθόδωρος, φροντιστής*, grave-stone, Am. J. Arch. IX, (1905), p. 322, no. 61.

<sup>1</sup> *Ἀγ[ε]λίδας Βαβύττου, πρίτανις*, *ibid.* p. 313.

<sup>1</sup> *Ἀθήναιος Ἀντιάνδρου Σινωπεύς* grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3339.

<sup>1</sup> *Ἀθηνίω[ν] Διονυσίο[ν] Σινωπ[ε]ύ[ς]*, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3340.

*Αἰβούτιο[ς] Μά[ξ]ιμο[ς]*, grave-stone, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 318, no. 53.

*Αἰμιλιανὸς Ὀφιλλίου Κουρίωνος*, grave-stone, *ibid.* p. 318, no. 52.

*Αἰσχίνης*, vase-fabricant, *ibid.* p. 301, no. 20.

<sup>1</sup> *Ἀκύλας*. Cf. *ibid.* p. 324, no. 68 *Φλ[αμιν]ί[ου] Ἀκύλα*.

<sup>1</sup> *Ἀμφίλοχος Εὐγ[ενίδου]*, *ibid.* p. 320.

<sup>1</sup> *Ἀ[ρ]υεῖτος, φοράρις* (forarius), dedicator to Helioserapis, *ibid.* p. 306, no. 30. Cf. Cagnat, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes* III, 1, no. 93.

<sup>1</sup> *Ἀπατούριος*, vase-fabricant, *ibid.* p. 299, no. 11.

<sup>1</sup> *Ἀπῆμα[ντος] ἀστυνόμος*, *ibid.* p. 301, no. 15.

<sup>1</sup> *Ἀπολλωνίδης Ποσ(ε)ιδωνίου, ἀστυνόμος*, *ibid.* p. 300, no. 12; p. 301, nos. 16, 17.

<sup>1</sup> *Ἀπολλώνιος Μεάνδρου Σινωπεύς*, grave-stone in Athens, cf. Robinson, *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1904, no. 49, cols. 1566 f.

<sup>1</sup> Plin. Ep. X 96.

<sup>2</sup> This list includes all names noted in inscriptions from Sinope and those of Sinopeans found elsewhere. Father's names are as a rule not listed separately.

᾿Αρία Πρεῖμα. Cf. s. v. Ἔρμων.

᾿Αρίστ[αρ]χ[ο]ς [᾿Αρ]ιστά[ρχ]ο[υ], πρύτανις, Am. J. Arch. I. c., p. 313.

᾿Αρτε]μίδωρος, vase-maker, *ibid.* p. 301, no. 15.

᾿Α]σκ[λ]ηπιόδωρος ᾿Ολύμπου, πρύτανις, *ibid.* p. 313.

᾿Ατταλος, ἀστυνόμος, *ibid.* p. 302, no. 22.

᾿Αφροδίσιος ᾿Αφροδισίου, πρύτανις, *ibid.* p. 313.

᾿Αφροδίσιος Εὐπόρου Σινωπεύς, ἑφηβος, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 467. Cf. also s. v. Εὐπορος.

Βάκχιος Μνήσιος, grave-stone, Am. J. Arch. I. c. p. 319, no. 54.

Βάτων Σινωπεύς, ῥήτωρ and historian; Strabo XII, 546; Athenaeus VI, 251 e; X, 436; XIV, 639 d; Plut., Agis 15; Susemihl, *Gesch. der Gr. Lit. der Alexandrinerzeit* I, 635 f.; Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa, *Encyclopädie s. v. Baton*; Müller, *Frag. Hist. Gr.* IV, pp. 347-350. Date, third cent. B. C. Cf. also s. v. Menippus.

Βίλλαρος, astronomer, possibly a Sinopean. Cf. Strabo XII, 546.

Βόηθος Λυσιμάχου Σινωπεύς, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3341.

Β]οῖσκος Μοναί . . . , dedicator, Am. J. Arch. I. c. p. 306, no. 32.

Γάεις ᾿Απολλωνί[δου] Σινωπε[ύς], grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) III, 2, 2907.

Γλαυκίας, vase-maker, Am. J. Arch. I. c. p. 301, no. 21.

Γλήρις Λεμβίου, πρύτανις, *ibid.* p. 313.

Δαμόστρατος Σινωπεύς, athlete who won six times in the πάλη at the Isthmian games, epigram. Cf. Anth. Plan. III, 25.

Δημήτριος Φίντιος, πρύτανις, Am. J. Arch. I. c. p. 313.

Δημήτριος Σινωπεύς, cavalry soldier and land-owner in Egypt. Cf. Grenfell and Hunt, *Amherst Papyri*, part II, nos. XLII and LV. Date, first half of second cent. B. C.

Δημόστρατος Προμηθίωνος, πρύτανις, Am. J. Arch. I. c. p. 313.

Διογένης, ἀστυνόμος, *ibid.* p. 297, no. 6.

Δι]ογένης, φιλόσοφος, *ibid.* p. 308.

Διογένης ὁ Σινωπεύς, the famous Cynic philosopher (414-323 B. C.); cf. Strabo XII, 546; Diog. L. *Vita Diog.*; epigram in Preger, *Inscr. Gr. Metricae* no. 166. Possibly a tragedian also; cf. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, no. 3804 and Pauly-Wissowa, *Encyclopädie s. Diogenes*. C. I. G. IV, 7074 Διογένης Ἴκεσίου Σινωπαῖος is probably a forgery.

Διόδωρος Σινωπεύς = Διόδωρος Δίωνος Σημαχίδης in I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3343. Comic poet; cf. Athenaeus VI, 235 e, 239 b; X, 431 c; Preuner, *Ein Delphisches Weihgeschenk* p. 72; Meineke,

Hist. Crit. pp. 418-419; Frag. Com. Graec. III, pp. 543-546. Meineke and Kaibel in Pauly-Wissowa op. cit. and A. Müller (Philologus LXIII, p. 354) classed him under the Middle Comedy, but Capps (Am. J. Arch. IV (1900) p. 83) has shown that he is a poet of the New Comedy. He took part in the comic contests at Delos in the years 284 and 280 B. C. (B. C. H. VII, pp. 105, 107. The dates given are those of Homolle, Archives de l'Intendance sacrée pp. 58, 127, which are two years later than in the B. C. H.). Diodorus was also second and third at the Lenaea in Athens in 288 with the plays *Νεκρός* and *Μαινόμενος*. Diodorus was granted Athenian citizenship and is called an Athenian in Auctor Lex. Hermann, p. 324. His deme is given in I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3343 on the family tomb-stone on which the name of Diphilus also occurs. For the inscription, which Wilhelm has rediscovered, cf. Wilhelm, Urkunden Dramatischer Aufführungen in Athen (Sonderschriften des Oest. Arch. Inst. in Wien, Band VI), p. 60. The identification of Diodorus and Diphilus as comic poets is due to Kumanudes, but he thought that Diodorus, father of Dion, was the comic poet. Capps (l. c.) with the aid of I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 972 proves that the comic poet was the son of Dion and flourished about 300 B. C. Kirchner, op. cit. 3959, thinks the *Διόδωρος Ἀθηναῖος* of B. C. H. VII, p. 105 is not a different poet, wrongly citing Capps. This Diodorus must be different from the *Διόδωρος Σινωπεύς*, whose name follows that of *Διόδωρος Ἀθηναῖος* among the *κωμικοὶ*. The ethnon *Σινωπεύς* is used in the Delian inscriptions (B. C. H. VII, pp. 105, 107) because Diodorus of Sinope did not receive Athenian citizenship till after 282 B. C. or because he preferred to be known in Delos as a Sinopean to distinguish him from an Athenian of the same name who was performing at the same time in Delos. There is no reason for Wilhelm's suggestion (op. cit., p. 61) that *Διόδωρος Ἀθηναῖος* was also from Sinope and *Διόδωρος Σινωπεύς* was his nephew, son of Diphilus. A comic actor by the name of Diodorus occurs also in B. C. H. IX, p. 134. Diodorus should not be read in G. D. I. 2565, l. 42 as restored by Kirchner Pros. 3934, cf. Wilhelm, op. cit. p. 245.

*Διονύσιος Ἀπολλωνίου Σινωπεύς*, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3342.

*Διονύσιος Σινωπεύς*, poet of the New Comedy; cf. Pauly-Wissowa s. Dionysius (105); cf. Meineke, Hist. Crit. I, p. 419; Frag. Com. Graec. III, 546-555; Athenaeus XI, 467 d, 497 c; XIV, 615 e.

In the last passage Athenaeus quotes the play of Dionysius called 'Ομόνυμοι; cf. also IX, 381 c. This led astray both Sengebusch, op. cit. p. 13 and Streuber, op. cit. p. 90, who say there was a grammarian Dionysius from Sinope who wrote *περὶ Ὀμωνύμων*. In I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 977 m, l. 2 the name Dionysius should be read, cf. Wilhelm, op. cit. pp. 128 f., 135, 180.

Διονύσιος Σινωπεύς, grave-stone in Rhodes, I. G. (I. G. Ins.) XII, 1, 465.

Διονύσιος, ἀστυνόμος, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 301, no. 18.

Διονύσιος Ἀρχίππου, ἐπιστάτης τῆς βουλῆς and πρύτανις, *ibid.* p. 313.

Διονύσιος Προκλέους Σινωπεύς, Kumanudes, Ἀττικῆς Ἐπιγραφαὶ Ἐπιτύμβιοι no. 2396; Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1852-1855, p. 921, no. 1505. This inscription is omitted in the Corpus. For Πρόκλος cf. *infra*.

Διόφαντος Ἀσκληπιοδώρου Σινωπεύς, general of Mithradates the Great, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 331, no. 85. Perhaps to be identified with the author of the *Ἱστορίαι Ποντικαί* (cf. Müller, *Frag. Hist. Gr.* IV, p. 396). Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa *Encycl. s. v.* Diophantus gives the third cent. B. C. as the date of the historian Diophantus, but I see no reason for placing him so early. Agatharchides who quotes him belongs to the end of the second cent. B. C. (cf. Niese, *Gesch. der Gr. und Mak. Staaten* I, p. 12). Diophantus' victory over the Scythians was about 110 B. C. and he may have written the *Ποντικά* before then. A man who knew all about the Pontus would be just the one to send on such an expedition: Niese, *Rhein. Mus.* XLII, p. 569 makes the identification.

Διόφαντος Εὐλαμπίχου, πρύτανις, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 313.

Δίφιλος Δίωνος Σινωπεύς, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3343, poet of the New Comedy, brother of the comic poet Diodorus, cf. *supra*; cf. Meineke, *Hist. Crit.* I, 446 f., *Frag. Com. Graec.* IV, 375-430; Strabo XII, 546; Anonym. de Com. XXX, XXXI; Susemihl, *Gesch. der Gr. Lit. in der Alexandrinerzeit* I, 260 f. Floruit about 320, cf. I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 977 g and Capps, Am. J. Arch. IV (1900) p. 83, note. Cf. Pauly-Wissowa op. cit. s. Diphilus and Wilhelm, op. cit. pp. 123, 132.

Δίων Διοδώρου Σινωπεύς, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3343, father of Diphilus and Diodorus.

Δῶρος Διοσκουρίδου Σινωπεύς, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) III, 2, 2908.

Δῶρος, vase-maker, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 295, no. 1.

Σ]έξτος Ἐγνάτιος Ἐγνατίου ὁ υἱός, *ibid.* p. 318, no. 51.

Εἰδᾶς, vase-maker, *ibid.* p. 301, no. 16.

Ἑκατόνυμος, δεινὸς λέγειν, Sinopean ambassador to Xenophon's Ten Thousand at Cotyora, Xen. Anab. V, 5, 7; Six, Num. Chron. 1885, p. 23.

Ουαλέριος Ἐκλεκτος Σινωπεύς, βουλευτὴς and athlete, I. G. (C. I. A.) III, 1, 129.

Ἐνδημος, ἀστυνόμος, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 298, no. 8.

Ἐπίδημος Ἐπ[ι]έ[λ]π[ου], νομοφύλαξ, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 313.

Ἐπίελπος, ἀστυνόμος, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 295, no. 3.

Ἐπιχάρης Θεαρίωνος, Sinopean ambassador, made πρόξενος of Histiaea, *ibid.* p. 333, no. 96.

L. E[r]jen[n]ius Pompeianus, sarcophagus *ibid.* p. 326, no. 72.

Ἐρμαῖος Σινωπεύς. See Φαίδριον below.

Ἐρμων. Inscription<sup>1</sup> found near Sinope, letters 0.03 m. high.

Ἐστιαῖος Σινωπεύς, athlete who won in the ἀγενεῖους πυγμὴν at the Amphiaraiā at Oropus, I. G. VII (C. I. G. S., I) 414.

Εὐκλῆς, vase-maker, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 299, no. 10; p. 300, no. 12; p. 301, nos. 14, 17.

Εὐάλαιος, epigram, *ibid.* p. 311.

Εὔνους Βιότου Σινωπεύς, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) III, 2, 2909.

Εὐξένη Σιω[πίς], grave-stone, I. G. II, pars V (C. I. A. IV, 2), 3343 b.

Εὔπ[ορος], sarcophagus, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 314, no. 41.

Γ. Κάιος Εὐ[τυμ]ανός, ναύκληρος, πρόξενος, Latyschev, Inscr. Ant. Orae Sept. Ponti Eux. IV, no. 72.

Ζόη, wife of M. Haterius Maximus, sarcophagus, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 315, no. 44.

Ἡγησαῖος Σινωπεύς ὁ Κλοιὸς ἐπὶ κλην, Cynic philosopher, pupil of Diogenes; cf. Diog. L. VI, 84. The name Hegesaeus occurs also as that of a δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ in a Greek inscription of the year 1781 A. D., still to be seen over the gate-way of Sinope and published by Hommaire de Hell, *op. cit.* II, pp. 351, 352; IV, pl. XII, 4.

Ἡγησίθεμις Ἡρακλείδω Σινωπέος, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3344.

Ἡδύλη, member of the family of Dion, Diodorus, and Diphilus, grave-stone; cf. I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3343.

Ἡρακλείδης, vase-maker, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 295, no. 2.

¹ ΕΕΡΜΩΝΟΧ  
ΑΡΙΑΤΡΕΙΜΑΕ  
CIOY · ΑΜΦ.

—ε Ἐρμωνος χ[ρ]ιστὲ χαῖρε. | ἡ σύμβιος αὐτοῦ Ἀρία Πρεῖμα ἐ[α]ντὴς ἀνδρὶ |  
... . σίου Ἀμφ[ιπολείτη].

Ἡρακλείδης Μι[κρ]ίου, ἀστυνόμος, *ibid.* p. 301, no. 13.

Ἡρακλείδης Σινωπεύς, writer of epigrams; cf. *Anth. Pal.* VII, 281, 392, 465.

Ἡφαίστιος Ἐξηκέστου, πρύτανις, *Am. J. Arch.* l. c. p. 313.

Θεμιστῆς Νύμφ[ω]νος, grave-stone, *ibid.* p. 322, no. 60.

Θέογυις Σινωπεύς, *ibid.* p. 332, no. 93, epigram attributed to Simonides.

Θεόπομπος Σινωπεύς, wrote *περὶ Σεισμῶν*; cf. Phlegon of Tralles in *Müller, Frag. Hist. Graec.* III, p. 622, 48.

Θεύδωρος, vase-maker, *Am. J. Arch.* l. c. p. 295, no. 3.

Θρασωνίδης, rhapsode, cf. p. 279.

Ἰκεσίας Ἀντιπάτρου, ἀστυνόμος, *ibid.* p. 298, no. 9; p. 299, no. 10.

Ἰκεσίας, father of Diogenes the Cynic, *Diog. L.* VI, 20.

Ἰουκοῦνδος, dedicator of altar to Heracles, *Am. J. Arch.* l. c. p. 305, no. 27.

Ἰστιαῖος, ἀστυνόμος, *ibid.* p. 294, no. 1.

Λικινία Καισελλία, grave-stone, *ibid.* p. 317, no. 50.

[Καλλικράτης] Μήτριος, Σινωπεύς, πρόξενος of Delphi *ibid.* p. 330.

Γάιος Μάρκιος Κηνσωρίνος, πρεσβευτῆς Καίσαρος, κηδεμὼν τῆς πόλεως, *ibid.* pp. 309, 310.

Κίττος Διονυσίου Σινωπεύς, grave-stone, *I. G. (C. I. A.) II*, 3, 3345. Rangabé, *Antiquités Helléniques II*, p. 903, no. 1867 reads Σίττος.

Κλαίνετος, vase-maker, *Am. J. Arch.* l. c. p. 302, no. 23.

Κλεοχάρης, pirate and prefect of Sinope; cf. p. 253.

Κορνοντίων Σινωπεύς, child who died abroad (Rome), *θρεπτός* of Diodorus, Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca* 702; *I. G. (I. G. S., I.) XIV*, 1787; Cagnat, *Inscr. Gr. ad Res Rom. Pert. I*, 293.

Κτήσων, vase-maker, *Am. J. Arch.* l. c. p. 299, no. 9.

Λάμαχος Χορηγίανος, γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς, *ibid.* p. 313. Also πρύτανις.

Λάμαχος Ἀντίφου, grave-stone, *ibid.* p. 319, no. 54.

Λέοντιππος, pirate and prefect of Sinope, cf. p. 253.

Λε[ω]μέδων Ἀριστῶνα[κ]τος, dedicator to Phlogius, *ibid.* p. 306, no. 31.

Λέων Σινωπεύς, *I. G. (C. I. A.) II*, 3, 3346. Grave-stele with relief of lion.

Κ. Λικίνιος Φροῦγυις, προξενητής, sarcophagus, *Am. J. Arch.* l. c. p. 315, no. 45.

Λικίνιος Χρυσόγονος Ὀλυ . . . ., *ibid.* p. 306, no. 33.

L. Licinnius Fr(u)gi, an enormous grave-stone, *ibid.* p. 327, no. 73.

Ποπίλλιος Λουτατιανὸς υἱὸς Ποπ(ιλίου) Οὐφικιανοῦ δις ἀρχιερέως καὶ  
 Σηστίας Μαρκιανῆς ἱερείας μεγάλης Ἀθηνᾶς, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.)  
 III, 2, 1450.

Olcinius Macrinus, C. I. L. III, 14402.<sup>b</sup>

Μᾶης Σαροάνδου, grave-stone, Am. J. Arch. I. c. p. 316, no. 49.

Ξεουήρος Μάκερ, dedicator to Zeus Hypsistos, *ibid.* p. 306, no. 29.

M. I . . . ἀτέριος Μάξιμος, physician, sarcophagus, *ibid.* p. 315,  
 no. 44.

Μεγαλήμερος, χαλκεύς, *ibid.* p. 322, no. 62.

Μένιππος Σινωπεύς, Cynic philosopher, cf. Diog. L. VI, 95. In all the handbooks Menippus, from whom the Menippean satires took their name, is spoken of as coming from Gadara in Syria. Strabo XVI, 759, followed by Steph. Byz. s. v. Gadara, is the only authority for this; and Diogenes Laertius' statement in VI, 99, that Menippus was in origin a Phoenician, is interpreted to mean that he came from Gadara, for Gadara was in Coele-Syria, a part of Phoenicia. But Diog. Laert. VI, 95 mentions a Menippus from Sinope who became ἐπιφανής among the pupils of Metrocles. Diog. L. then gives the life of Hipparchia, which is followed (VI, 99) by the life of Menippus. The probability is that this Menippus is the same as the one in VI, 95, especially since the Sinopean is not included among the Menippi in sec. 101. Diog. L. makes the blunder of calling him a contemporary of Meleager whose date is the first half of the first century B. C. The fact that Meleager of Gadara wrote Menippean Satires is probably accountable for Diogenes' statement and led Strabo to say that both came from Gadara. Menippus probably lived in the third century B. C., cf. Probus ad. Verg. Ecl. VI, 31, Varro qui sit Menippeus non a magistro cuius aetas *longe* praecesserat. This is certainly true if we identify the Menippus of Diog. L. VI, 99, who wrote nothing σπουδαῖον and is undoubtedly the Cynic whom Varro imitated in his Satirae Menippeae or Cynicae, with the Cynic from Sinope who was a pupil of Metrocles (floruit about 270 B. C.). Zeller, Phil. der Griechen II, 1, p. 286, n. 3 identifies the two. It is possible to go further. Diocles, who had made a special study of the lives of the philosophers and, therefore, ought to be followed in preference to Strabo, says (apud. Diog. L. VI, 99) that Baton from the Pontus was the master of Menippus. This may be the Sinopean ῥήτωρ and historian, whose date falls also in the third century (cf. Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Baton and Susemihl, *op. cit.* I, 635 f.). That Menippus was a slave, as



Diogenes says, we know also from A. Gellius II, 18, 7 and Macrobius I, 11, 42. Of course it is possible that Menippus was born in Gadara and went to Sinope where he lived with his master Baton (so Susseimihl, op. cit. I, p. 44 f. who gives the literature on Menippus) but Sinope had enough slaves of its own without importing any. Menippus is an example of the characteristic Sinopean temper referred to above in c. IX.

Μενίσκος Μήνιδος Σινωπεύς, I. G. II, pars V (C. I. A. IV, 2), 3346 b.

Μένων Σινωπεύς, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3348.

Μηρόδωρος Ἀπολλωνίου Σινωπεύς; Comptes Rendus 1877, p. 277, Roman inscription found at Kertch.

Μηροφίλα Μάου Σινώπισσα, I. G. (C. I. A.) III, 2, 2910.

Μῆτρης [Κ]αλλικράτους, πρύτανις, Am. J. Arch. I. c. p. 343.

Μῆτρης Νικάνδρου Σινωπεύς, Athen. Mith. XIII (1888), p. 429. On name Μῆτρης cf. Am. J. Arch. I. c. p. 330, no. 82.

Μητ[ρ]ό[β]ι[ος] (?) Δεινίου, Sinopean ambassador, πρόξενος of Histiaea, Am. J. Arch. I. c. p. 333.

Μιθραδάτης Σινωπεύς, the Great, cf. Strabo XII, 545 and p. 252, n. 1 supra.

Μιθραδάτης, vase-maker, Am. J. Arch. I. c. p. 298, no. 7.

Νάννα Διονύσοιο, ibid. p. 319, no. 55.

Ναύπων Καλλισθένους, ἀστυνόμος, ibid. p. 302, no. 23.

Λούκιος Φιδικλάνιος Νέπως Σινωπεύς, lived to be more than a hundred years old, cf. Phlegon, Macrobioi (Müller, Frag. Hist. Graec. III, p. 609, 1).

Νικίας Φι[λέου?] Σινωπεύς, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3348.

Νικο . . . . Πλουτά[ρχου] Σιν[ω]π[εύς], I. G. (C. I. A.) III, 2, 2911.

Ὀνησίμος Ὀνησίππου Σινωπεύς, I. G. (C. I. A.) III, 2, 2912.

Ὀνησίχα Μέν[ωνος] Σινω[πέως] [γυνή], I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3349.

Πά[μφιλος] Σινωπεύς, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3350.

Published in the Rhein. Mus. 1866, p. 513, no. 308 among the unedited inscriptions. The inscription, Πάμφιλος Σινωπεύς, published in the Bolletino dell' Instituto 1864, 48 has been overlooked. This is probably the same inscription and the Πα has become obliterated since the first publication.

Πασιχάρης Δημητρίου, ἀστυνόμος, Am. J. Arch. I. c. p. 295, no. 2.

Κ[λαυδία] Παῦλα, priestess of Isis, ibid. p. 312, no. 39. Cf. Cagnat, op. cit. III, 1, no. 95.

Ὀφίλλιος Πολύκαρπος, dedicator to Asclepius and Hygieia, Am. J. Arch. I. c. p. 306, no. 28. Cf. Αἰμιλιανός supra.

Ἀῖλιος Θρεπτίων Ποντιανός, dedicator to θεὸς ὕψιστος, ibid. p. 306, no. 29.

Ποντικός [Θ]άλλου, sarcophagus, *ibid.* p. 314, no. 42.

C. Ael[ius?] Pontius, *ibid.* p. 327, no. 74.

Π[οσειδώνιος Μει[δίου], *πρύτανις*, *Am. J. Arch.* l. c. p. 313.

Ποσιδέϊος [Θ]εα[ρί]ωνος, *ἀστυνόμος*, *ibid.* p. 301, no. 19.

Κλαύδιος Ποτέ[λιος], *γυμνασίαρχος*, *ἄρχων τοῦ πρεσβυτικοῦ, ποντάρχης*, *etc.*, *ibid.* p. 312, no. 39. Cf. Cagnat, *op. cit.* III, 1, no. 95.

Ἀρία Πρέιμα. Cf. s. v. Ἑρμων.

AUR(ELIUS) PRISCIANUS, pr(aeses) pr(ovinciae) P(onti) d(evo-tus) n(umini) m(ajestati) q(ue) eorum, *A. J. P.* XXVII, p. 139, n. 2; p. 260 f.

Πρόκλος Σινωπεύς, renders thanks to Nymphs and Poseidon for being cured, *Am. J. Arch.* p. 331, no. 87.

Πρωταγόρας Ἀντισθένους Σινωπεύς, grave-stone, *I. G. (C. I. A.)* II, 3, 3351.

Πρωταγόρας Κυνίσκου, *ἀστυνόμος*, *Am. J. Arch.* l. c. p. 299, no. 11; p. 301, no. 14.

Πύθης Διονυσίου, dedicator to Ζεὺς δικαιοσύνης μέγας, *ibid.* p. 302, no. 24.

Πυθοκλῆς ἀστυνόμος, *ibid.* p. 301, no. 21.

Πυρρίας Σινωπεύς, grave-stone, *I. G. (C. I. A.)* II, 3, 3352.

Ῥειπάνη, γέιτων καθαρῶο Σαράπιδος, daughter of a pious and virtuous father, *ibid.* p. 315, no. 48. Cagnat, *op. cit.* III, 1, no. 96 wrongly reads Τειτιανή.

Ῥουφείνα, joint-dedicator with her husband of an altar to θεὸς μέγας ὕψιστος, *ibid.* p. 304.

Σαιουεῖνιος, sarcophagus, *ibid.* p. 314, no. 43.

SALVIUS, vir n(obilis) m(emoriae), unpublished grave-stone in church at Ortoi, one hour from Sinope.<sup>1</sup>

Σέλευκος, pirate and prefect of Sinope; cf. p. 253.

Σ[έλλιος], *Am. J. Arch.* l. c. p. 324, no. 68.

Τιβ. Κλ. Σεουήρος, Σινωπεύς, cured at Epidaurus, dedicator to Ἀπόλλων Μαλεάτας and Σωτήρ Ἀσκλάπιος, *I. G.* IV (C. I. P., I), 956.

Λούκιος Σε[πί]κιος Ἀπόλανστος, dedicator of altar to Ζεὺς Ἥλιος ναυ[δα]μηνός ἐπήκοος, *ibid.* p. 303.

Σεραπίων Ἡφαιστίωνος Σινωπεύς, grave-stone, *I. G. (C. I. A.)* III, 2, 3633.

<sup>1</sup> Large marble slab with gable at the top, 1.16 m. high, 0.74 m. wide, 0.12 m. thick. Letters vary from 0.08 m. to 0.10 m. in height.

VISEIIIALI  
IINGIONII  
SALVIVS VIRNM  
SIT

Σινώπη, wife of Midias; cf. I. G. III, 3349 and Bechtel, *Die Griechischen Frauennamen*, p. 60. Cf. also Sinopsis, daughter of Dionysius, wife of Diophantus in C. I. G., IV, 6991.

Σινώπη, a harlot named after her native town, who lived in the first half of the fourth cent. B. C. Cf. A. J. P. XXVII, p. 133. Add to references there Schol. Dem. XXIV, 762, 4 and Leutsch-Schneidewin, *Paroemiographi Graeci* I, p. 451 (σινωπίσαι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀσχημονῆσαι ἀπὸ ἐταίρας τινὸς ἐκ Σινώπης).

Σκυδρόθεμις, tyrant and king of Sinope, Tac. Hist. IV, 83.

Σοφοκλῆς Δημητρίου Σινωπεύς, grave-stone, I. G. II, 3, 3353.

Σοφοκλῆς Σινωπεύς, grave-stone, I. G. XII (Inscr. Gr. Ins.), 1, 466 (Rhodes).

Σπόρος Σινωπεύς. See Σωτηρίς below.

Στρατοκλῆς Διονύσοιο, grave-stone, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 319, no. 55.

Σύρι[ο]ς, sarcophagus, *ibid.* p. 315, no. 46.

Σφοδρίας Πυθαγγέλου Σινωπεύς, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3354.

Σωτηρίς Σπόρου Σινωπέως, θυγάτηρ Νικομήδου Ἀντιοχέως γυνή, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3355.

Τεύθρας Θυμοχάρους, κεραμεύς, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 296, no. 4.

Τιβ. Ἀρακτος, *ibid.* p. 324, no. 67.

Τιμησίλεως, tyrant; cf. A. J. P. XXVII, pp. 151-2.

Τιμόθεος Σινωπεύς, Epicurean philosopher, Strabo XII, 546.

Τίμων Σινωπεύς, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3356.

Τι]μώριος, vase-maker, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 298, no. 8.

Φαίδριον Ἐρμαίου Σινωπέως θυγάτηρ, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) III, 2, 2913.

Φαρνάκης Φαρνάκου Σινωπεύς, died abroad, epigram, Kaibel, *op. cit.* 252.

Φειλιτίων Σινωπεύς, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) III, 2, 2914.

Φήμιος Ἀντίφου, grave-stone, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 319, no. 54.

Φιλή[σιος], grave-stone, *ibid.* p. 319, no. 54.

Φιλοκράτης, vase-maker, *ibid.* p. 302, no. 22.

Φίλων Σινωπεύς, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3357.

Φίλων Διονυσίου Σινωπεύς, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3358.

Φορμίων Συνήμονος, grave-stone, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 319, no. 54.

Μάνιος Φούλβιος Πακάτος, grave-stone, same family as Δικιννία Καισελλία and the following name, *ibid.* p. 317.

Φούλβιος Πραιτωρείνος, υἱός of the preceding man, *ibid.*

Φρύνη Σινωπίς, grave-stone, I. G. (C. I. A.) II, 3, 3359.

Χαῖρις Ἀφεναῖος Φάλερες = Ἀθηναῖος Φαληρεὺς perhaps, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 319, no. 56.

Χαρμοσύνα Σινωπῆς, grave-stone, I. G. XII (Inscr. Gr. Ins.), 1, 467.

Χορηγίων Λεωμέδοντος, ἀστυνόμος, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 298, no. 7. Cf. also s. v. Λάμαχος and Λεωμέδων supra.

Χρηστος Σινωπεύς, λιθουργός, *ibid.* p. 331, no. 87.<sup>1</sup>

*Incomplete names are here added.*

.. αλλιος, vase-maker (?), *ibid.* p. 297.

... ἀνίτα[s], Christian tombstone, *ibid.* p. 322, no. 59.

..... α (?) Μάρκου, *ibid.* p. 324, no. 68 and no. 66.

| | ἵππος Δαμε ..... Σινωπεύς, πρόξενος of Cleitor, Athen. Mitt. VI (1881), p. 303 and Beilage 2.

..... ν Θρασωνίδου Σινωπεύς, ῥαψωιδός; cf. Collitz, Gr. Dialekt-Inschriften II, p. 742, no. 2564, l. 11.

.... λος, dedicator with his wife Ῥουφείνα to θεὸς μέγας ὕψιστος, Am. J. Arch. l. c. p. 304.

.... ος Καλλισθένο[υς], πρύτανις, *ibid.* p. 313. Cf. Ναύπων Καλλισθένους supra.

.... ος Πολυδώ[ρου], Σινωπεύς, dedicator to Serapis, *ibid.* p. 331, no. 84.

..... ς Φιλίππου, Σινωπεύς, πρόξενος of Cleitor, Athen. Mitt. VI (1881), p. 303 and Beilage 2.

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<sup>1</sup> Since this article was paged, I have received copies of three more unpublished inscriptions on grave-stones found last August on the isthmus of Sinope. These I hope to publish in the near future. They marked the graves of Ἰούλιος Καλπεικός(?), ναύκληρος; of Μάνης, the name also of Diogenes' slave (cf. p. 261, n. 6); and of Νάρκισσος.